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TALKING POINTS Israel-Lebanon-Current Situation

With the apparent collapse of our efforts to negotiate complete foreign troop withdrawals, all the parties are now positioning themselves to react to a partial IDF withdrawal.

- -- The Israelis are determined to pull back to the Awwali River line before winter sets in (November) but after Prime Minister Begin's visit to Washington (26-29 July).
- -- Press reports indicate the IDF carried out a token pullback from a position north of the Beirut-Damascus highway on Saturday.

Amin Gemayel's government has the most to lose from a partial pullback. Its credibility is slipping as more and more Lebanese conclude Amin cannot negotiate total troop withdrawals and that de facto partition is becoming inevitable. Each Lebanese faction is now feeling out its foreign protector for possible future aid.

- the Phalange have been meeting extensively with Defense Minister Arens.
- -- Druze leader Junblatt and Shia leader Barri have recently sought to improve their ties with Syria; Barri has visited Damascus.
- -- Sunni leaders also seem to be distancing themselves from Amin.

Amin is looking to the US to either prevent Israeli withdrawals or, more likely, help manage them in a way that will enhance the Lebanese government and the army's prestige. During his visit to Washington (20-22 July), Amin will probably ask for US commitment to send Marines with the MNF into any evacuated territory.

The Worst Case: The worst possible outcome would be for major Phalange-Druze fighting to break out after the IDF leaves the Shuf.

- -- Widespread communal massacres are a possibility.
- -- Many Lebanese army units are likely to sympathize with the Phalange and the army could split along confessional lines.
- -- The Syrians and PLO could try to reinflitrate the Shuf, although they are not likely to make any move that could initiate a direct clash with the Israelis. (Fortunately, Syria and PLO are somewhat preoccupied currently with their own rivalry.)

The best approach to preventing a disaster is probably a gradual, staged IDF pullback closely linked with political efforts to maintain a Druze-Phalange accommodation.

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